

356 walls are lined with mats, and the crude bed is raised off the ground to avoid unpleasant and unhealthy contact with the ground. A mat is spread over the native's bed, [165] and the pillow which is customarily used permits him to lie in a restful position.

515 The natives take a bath almost every day. They usually go to the river during the hottest hours of the day, but sometimes they do so early in the morning or in the evening. The child participates in this from an early age. Aside from these regular baths, the native often washes his whole body with warm water.

• [300] He then smears himself with a light film of palm oil to ensure the suppleness of the skin and to protect it from the sun's rays.

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515 Before and after each meal the native makes a point of washing out his mouth. After the meal he brushes his teeth with a small brush made of rattan or soft wood, the fibers acting as



Fig. 91. A Scene from Native Life among the Riparian People of the Lower Lukanie.

bristles.

256
244 Meals are prepared with a genuine concern for cleanliness. All the food is washed, cleaned, and boiled before being eaten. Kitchen utensils are cleaned and carefully put away. Despite the primitive conditions for preparing manioc flour, the product is as pure as if it had been prepared by an improved method

25a with modern machinery. Not content with the state of the
264 utensils in which she serves the meals, the woman is careful to
line them at mealtime with fresh and very clean leaves.

515 The natives keep the nails of their hands and feet cut short.
The care of the feet is explained as a hygienic measure and
by the necessity of taking precautions to avoid the vermin which
like to get into these places (ticks). The care of the hands can be
explained only by the concern for cleanliness shown in native eat-
ing habits.

Imported soap is not yet commonly used, although we found
it in a number of native huts.

318 Many native women know how to make soap. The process
is very simple. Dried banana skins, trunks of papaw trees, bark,
the fruits of various vegetables, and waste from palm nuts are
gathered together and burned. The ashes are carefully collected
and mixed with some water for boiling them. At the first ebulli-
tion, the woman removes the ashes and impurities that [166] rise
to the surface. Boiling is then continued until the evaporation is
almost complete. When only a thick and sirupy grayish-black
deposit is left, the woman takes it off the fire, washes it, and
kneads it in cold water until it takes on a clearer color. She then
adds palm oil, mixes it in with great care, and puts the lot back
on the fire. The paste is stirred all through the boiling, which is
continued until the woman obtains a mixture whose consistency
is slightly firmer than that of our soft soaps. [Ed., a passage is
omitted from mid-page 166 to mid-page 167.]

Native soap is used only in the case of the body.

302 [167] The native does not merely smear his body with palm
303 oil. The men and especially the women often powder themselves
with takula dust. The women prepare a cosmetic with this and love
to cover their whole body with it in a spirit of coquetry. This
practice is so widespread among the peoples of Lake Leopold II
that the manufacture of ngula has become a veritable local indus-
try in certain areas. This is especially true of the Mousengere. In
a village near the Songo post, we counted 36 installations for
making ngula powder. The simplest set of materials includes two
blocks of takula or redwood, a small receptacle containing water,
a handful of sand, and a small hand or painting brush. One of the

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303 sides of this square and held in place by a binding of twined
285 raffia fibers. The sides are then plaited by the simplest method, that is, with the horizontal band weaving in and out of the vertical thongs. As all of these molds always have approximately the same height and diameter, the ngula cones are both similar in shape and quite constant in weight. The natives use them a great deal as trade goods. In some regions the ngula cone has become a veritable currency, with a standard value from one tribe to another. [170] A market is organized regularly when steamers call at Mushie, and there the people of the interior exchange the products of their industries for the imported objects brought by the Blacks who work for the Whites. Ngula cones are among the principal items of trade and bring a very high price. In the Oluwe region, the old chief Kua Kua was a great ngula trader. He came by regularly with four or five of his wives, bringing various products from the region between the Kasai and the Lukonis to exchange for the ngula made in the Lukonis region.

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303 Throughout the central Congo regions, the ngula used for trade has the shape of an elongated truncated cone. Among the Basongo-Meno and farther east, on the other hand, ngula most often is shaped in a ball. The native of these regions often uses it to decorate his pottery and wooden objects and to dye the fibers of cloth used for decoration. He keeps it in cosmetic boxes carved from tabula wood and usually decorated with very artistic designs. He also uses it to color his hair. [Ed., a passage from the middle of page 170 to the last paragraph, page 171, is omitted.]

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303 [171] Aside from ngula, the native sometimes anoints his
711 body with a type of white clay quite frequently found in the river beds. [172] The native calls it mpembe. Its use is far from being as widespread as that of ngula, and we believe that the native associates it with magic power rather than ornamentation. Mpembe is used chiefly by the peoples of the Congo-Kasai, Lake Leopold II, and Lukonis regions, up to the region of the Saire.

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716 We never saw a native anoint his whole body with it. The few women in mourning that we saw were covered with a grayish-yellow mud and not with mpembe. We believe, moreover, that the use of mpembe is reserved to the chief, his wives, and perhaps

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dignitaries and their families, but it was impossible for us to prove the accuracy of our hypothesis. When questioned about this, the natives always confined themselves to uncertain and evasive replies. The native chief rarely appears at a large gathering without having his face and sometimes his arms and chest covered with lines drawn with mpembe. At all official receptions, the chief, a few dignitaries, and sometimes some of the chiefs' wives had a more or less symmetrical rectangle drawn with mpembe around the eyes.

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We observed the following artificial deformations in the course of our journey:

- 1) depilation;
- 2) filing of the teeth;
- 3) tattooing by incision;
- 4) circumcision.

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Depilation is practiced by all the peoples of the regions visited. The native plucks out every lan hair on his body. Where the hair cannot be plucked, it is shaved with great care. For the parts of the body that are hard to reach, men and women help one another. Eyebrows and eyelashes are both plucked, while beards and mustaches, on the other hand, are cared for with great pride. It is very unusual to see a full beard. We ran across only one such case. The happy possessor of this beautiful [173] beard was as proud of it as he could be, and Natali, chief of the Banfumu of Kwamouth, was heartbroken to have only a few hairs on his chin while one of his dignitaries was endowed with such a fine beard.

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Among the Batske-Banfumu peoples, up to the Ipanga, the natives frequently shave the base of their scalp all around the head. Their headdress looks like a very symmetrical calome.

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Among the Yaelima we encountered men whose heads were completely shaved except for one tuip just above the nape of the neck. A similar custom must have prevailed among the Batske and Banfumu, but the unshaved part was broader.

Among the Yaelima and up to the region of the Bankuthu north of Bona Dibeke, the natives shave their hair in such a way

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as to broaden the forehead. The brow is sharply delineated at right angles and framed by two corners projecting over the temples.

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Let us note that the custom of shaving part of the scalp is hardly a general one. The types of headdress we have just described are seen regularly, but by no means are worn by all the natives. It even seemed to us that they tend to be the prerogative of the chiefs, dignitaries, and their families, but we dare not assert that they constitute a right, a strict prerogative. [174]

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Fig. 93. Batete Type with Long Beard,
 Plucked Eyelashes and Eyebrows.

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The Bateke and Banfumu file the middle upper incisors in the shape of an isosceles triangle, break them, or pull them out. We observed this custom among some of the Baboma. The majority of the Baboma, however, have their teeth filed to a point, a custom that prevails up to the Bokala region and along the north bank of the Kasai up to 23° longitude east of Greenwich. "Baaongo-Meno" seems to mean "people with filed teeth" and may have

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been the name used by the southern peoples to designate their neighbors to the north whose real name they did not know. The custom of deforming the teeth tends to disappear rapidly. The younger generation already refuses to submit to it, and we often heard the natives with filed teeth referred to as baengi, that is, "savages." The deformation of the teeth is accomplished with a small iron chisel and a wooden mallet. The village blacksmith does this for a small fee. The teeth are broken with short, sharp blows while the patient is seated with his head against the knees of the blacksmith, who stands behind the patient. The operation is very painful and takes several sittings. The last ones are for the filing, which is done with a small native file.

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The native takes special pains with his haide, which sometimes is a true little marvel, the fruit of long and patient work.

Both men and women attach great importance to this. They strive [175] to surpass themselves and to achieve the most coquettish coiffure possible. Since every native is a born hair stylist and they aid each other with complete unselfishness, the haide not



Fig. 94. A Salwa with a Small Gutter and with Eyelashes and Eyebrows Carefully Plucked.

only varies from one tribe to another, but the most disparate types are found within the same tribe, according to our observation.

A very popular method is to smear the hair with a rather thick paste of palm oil and ngula and then to separate the locks and roll them up so that they form small, very irregular balls. To enhance this haide, the native does not hesitate to insert peanuts into the hair, first smearing them carefully with ngula paste in order to conceal the deception.

Ntoria

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A very common hairstyle around Lake Leopold II and in the region of the lower Lakenie consists of a multitude of small, perfect braids covering the whole head, falling over the forehead, the ears, and the nape of the neck. These braids are sometimes arranged in star-shaped formations originating at the top of the head or sometimes in crossed strips; sometimes they are partially parallel and then branch away at the sides, and sometimes they are



Fig. 94. Deformation
of the Teeth, Lake
Leopold II.

Fig. 95. Deformation of the Teeth
and Headgear among the Bahrin.

placed in concentric circles or spirals. The more civilized element tends [176] to adopt a hairstyle resembling a cock's comb, single, double, or triple.

Among the Mousgore and Balia, we greatly admired a hairstyle arranged in an adjustable sunshade. A narrow strip of hair was finely plaited all around the head. The braids were mounted on very thin raffia splines in a circular arrangement. The native could raise or lower this hairstyle at will, so that he sometimes seemed to wear a very smooth calotte and at other times a fanned-out crown. This hairstyle was highly prized by the Mousgore. Among the Tumba and Wadia, having the hair in an arrangement of conical bags was fashionable for the men. Bahrin women, on the occasion of great celebrations, selected a hairstyle in the

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● 302 shape of a big, raised, circular roll held up by a band of plaited fibers and decorated with one or two rows of cowry shells.

None of these types of native headgear, however, seemed to be a stable characteristic. We found them all more or less regularly in the various regions, without being able to characterize them as distinctly local products.

Some less widespread forms, on the other hand, do have a strong ethnic character. Such is the case for the chipon haindo



Fig. 97. Santhome Chief's Coiffure Enhanced with Nigla. The eyelashes and eyebrows are carefully plucked.

which prolongs the head of the Santhome-Santhome. This coiffure, together [177] with the general appearance of the head -- with its plucked eyebrows and eyelashes, the skull covered for the most part with little tufts of woolly hair, beard, mustache, and tummy made with a comb on the temples and cheeks -- is indeed the typical and characteristic form, representing the artistic ideal of

of the Batshe-Banfumu. All the natives would like to adopt it, but only the great chiefs and dignitaries may thus glorify themselves. It is this model that the Batshe-Banfumu use to fashion the figurines which are often called fetiches, but which are really skins, protectors of the children.

The form of these skins is the same for adults or for children, for the poor or for the wealthy. This form is found throughout the region, from Stanley Pool to the Kwango, and belongs specifically to the Batshe-Banfumu peoples, whose ethnic unity it demonstrates anew.

A no less characteristic coiffure is that worn by the dignitaries of the Ipanga-Taelima region. The hair is parted in the middle, with the part running from the forehead to the nape.



Fig. 98. Mowongo with his Hair in an Adjustable Aurole.



Fig. 99. Batshe Woman, Favorite Wife of Chief Iamu.

of the neck, and the hair is gathered into one braid on each side. The braids originate just over the ears and then pass behind them to meet under the chin, where they are sometimes inserted. The hair at the top of the head used to be plaited in an upright roll over a small circumference. Only the favorite wife of the young Batshe chief will wear this acromial coiffure when we passed through the region. This braids seems to have been very widespread in the region of the Taelima and perhaps [178] much farther east. It corresponded to the local ethnic type which the sculptors followed in

302 fashioning most of the statuettes, figurines and bowls that we possess from this region, which are so remarkably decorated. Moreover, we find these same forms among the Babuba and Bashilele, up to the region of the Bankumbu of Bena Dibile-Kole. These various tribes have also reproduced in their sculpture the design of the shaved parts of the head, which are so uniform and so characteristic. In this respect these various tribes are related, and their ethnic affinity seems very clear. Despite their present remoteness from each other and the absence of all tribal intercourse, their ethnic kinship is clearly shown in the monuments they



Fig. 100. Hairdo and Tattoos of Lake Leopold II.

have preserved of the ancestral culture.

302 These various observations permit us to divide the peoples into three very distinct groups.

1) The Satele-Banfumu group, with its chignon hairdo over the nape of the neck and the rest of the head shaved or with the hair cut short.

2) The group including the Ipanga and the eastern peoples, with their hairdo of two braids passing behind the ears and under the chin and the upright roll on top of the head. [178]

3) The group including the tribes of Lake Leopold II and the lower Lakenie up to the Ipanga region, where having the hair arranged in tiny braids predominates.

301 The love of finery is more or less developed among all the peoples of the Kasai-Lake Leopold II-Lakenie region. Ornaments

No less interesting is the full ceremonial regalia of the chiefs of the Lake Leopold II tribes. This varies according to the importance of the chief, but it always includes a number of cowries and one or several brass disks attached to the hairdo and the loincloth. The right to wear disks in the hairdo dates from older times and is reserved to the chiefs and great dignitaries by ancestral custom.

The practice is found all along the Lukania. From Lake Leopold II to Dekese, these disks have the same shape and



Fig. 103. An Old Native Chief of Lake Leopold II Adorned with his Insignia and Accompanied by his Two Favorite Wives and his Lukumbé Player.

ornamental design. Their manufacture is reserved to the important blacksmiths upon authorization by the local Mfumu or Tse of the region. [102]

Leopard skins, iron or brass bells hung from the waist, and the right to wear certain knives of a special shape at the waist are also prerogatives of the chiefs and dignitaries throughout the Lake Leopold II and Lukania region.

We are thus confronted with various manifestations in the material life which are so many indications of the common origin or kinship of these different tribes.

Yaelima

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we made of the many figures we saw in this region showed us that the variations are so numerous, so diverse, and so closely intertwined that it is totally impossible to use this as a basis for determining ethnic sectors with clearly-defined characteristics.

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Finally, if we consider only those tattoo figures to which

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Fig. 134. Yaelima (head and
Tattooing. Typical Longano or
Dignitary.

we attributed, if not a familial origin, at least a familial nature [200] (incitement to sexual relations), we see that throughout the region this type of tattoo is peculiar to women.

From Leopoldville to the confines of Barots territory and even among some Bakala women, this tattoo consists (where it still exists) of a number of small, aligned dots, just like the ornamental tattoo.

Among the Ispango-Barots, these figures sometimes embellish the arms and part of the back, while among the other tribes they are less elaborate.

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833 In the region of the Yaelima, Dengese, and some of the
Bokale, this tattoo consists of a series of broken, concentric lines
with the pubic region as the plain center.

We do not know if this tattoo is also worn by the Bango-
Meno and Banturulu women, but this seems probable to us. We
can, however, assert that among these peoples this tattoo does
not extend to the upper thighs, except for one or two lines of
small incised dots running parallel to the fold of the groin.



Fig. 125. Yaelima Tattooing and Headband
Adorned with Feathers Smeard with Nigala.

The incisions for ornamental and sexual tattoos are usually
made by women, although a man sometimes takes over this task.

394 The operation is carried out at very irregular intervals
and at practically any [301] time of life. Moreover, it requires
several sittings, usually spaced from 10 to 15 days apart.

The tattooing knife, which is also used for depilation, con-
sists of a small, broad iron blade with a curved, very sharp cutting
edge.

191 According to what I have been told, this type of ornament may
34/ also have a sexual significance. Normally -- and this statement is
192 applicable only to the present time -- the beads are entirely covered
by clothing and are visible only on a few occasions. If a large number of strings (as many as six, eight, or ten) or very many beads are worn, attention may be attracted to them because there will be a bulge in the clothing worn over them. Their sound will reveal their presence during a race or a dance. And according to my informant, that is enough to awaken passion. Making an allusion to the beads and especially touching them deliberately is considered as an invitation. For her part, a woman sometimes rubs them together in her fingers so that they will make their characteristic noise and thus attract a man's attention and arouse his interest.

The preceding does not mean that simply the wearing of the beads is necessarily intended for a bad purpose. Not only must such an intention be excluded in the case of serious persons, especially if they are elderly and content themselves with wearing a single string, seldom a second one to support the first. But there is also the possibility that a young Black beauty may adorn herself with ten or more strands out of sheer vanity, so that the whole world may see that she has so many. (70)

Furthermore, it has been shown that attention to appearance is not necessarily directed to another person. Though that may be generally true, many people like to dress for the pleasure of being well dressed, and girls who never dream of an adventure may still enjoy wearing pretty undergarments. This desire for adornment for its own sake can, no doubt, explain the belts, as well as other embellishments on more than one Mundu woman.

We should add that those who adhere to the theory that the tattoos have an immediate sexual influence could apply such a theory here as well.

302 5. Depilation

(31)

All Mundu of both sexes practice depilation of the genital organs and even the armpits. The natives believe that the hair growing

- 452 under the arms is related to sexuality and give it the same name as [5] they use for their pubic hair.

A person removes his or her own hair, or it is removed by a friend of the same sex. Formerly, the hairs were simply pulled out. Nowadays, many people shave with a knife. Moreover the practice tends to be confined to the hair connected with sexuality, but in the past everything was removed: eyebrows, eyelashes, mustaches, beard.

For the Nkundu hair removal is a form of beauty care. Their explanation must be accepted, though the term "beauty care" must be broadly defined so that it will include also the depilation of parts of the body that are always hidden. This last form however, might have some relation to the tattoo: it makes tattooing easier and its effect more obvious. [71]

Article III. Prostitution

21 The dictionary defines prostitution as follows: "a trade which consists in providing one's body for the pleasures of the public in exchange for money." In addition to this limited sense, the most important aspect of which is "in exchange for money," the word also has several broader meanings.

Prostitution is found in the world in various forms: 1) the kept woman, 2) the brothel, 3) the professional streetwalker, 4) the occasional streetwalker, 5) the married woman who has a steady relationship with a lover who pays her, 6) the woman who is the concubine of a number of men in succession and who is paid by each of them. We will examine the forms under which this misconduct has occurred and occurs among the Nkundu.

The first question we should ask is whether a Nkundu woman gave herself to a man for profit before the European occupation. It is true that a woman often *(s'entendait commercialement)* but, as we have already said, it is very difficult to determine whether she did so for gain or simply to be reassured of her lover's affection. Knowing the mentality of the Nkundu women of today, we must admit that her greed sometimes brings her to acts of venal love. One or another of them has no doubt given her body in order to possess various

3. The period of prohibitions

[47] When a pregnancy is far advanced -- about two or three months before delivery (a period which has now been reduced to one or two weeks) -- the Nkundu proceed with the "preservation of the fetus" (blomba lemi, "they preserve the fetus," or blaka lemi, "they fatten the fetus"). The period called boleka or boleko begins at that moment and does not end until after child-birth. The oral expression is lamba boleka, "to bind the period of sexual prohibitions." (1) This term also extends to all special

[314] 1. The expression lamba lembe is also used. A similar period of sexual prohibitions called by the same name still exists for, among other things, circumcision, the construction of a hunting enclosure, and the setting of elephant traps.

prohibitions (bidila) resulting from this condition. [475]

For the first pregnancy the period begins with the following [344] ceremony: The woman's mother smears her daughter's head and [302] all of her body with a red paint called ngila. This paint, usually used as make-up, is used here as a mark of affection and given to honor and congratulate the future mother on this happy occasion. When the ngila is somewhat hardened, the mother smears her daughter's hair with it and rolls the hair into little balls, using an iron bongolo, which is the instrument usually used for hairdressing. Then she gives her daughter a hen and some bananas to eat. From then on the pregnant woman may no longer eat hens, for the consumption of this bird (which the Nkundu place in the same category as ducks) and its eggs would stop the normal development of the fetus. The ceremony is called la bongata (gila among the Bembwanga), "to smear with red paint in little balls."

The woman's father and the husband's kin feel strongly about being present at this ceremony, for it is considered very important. I know of an intense palaver which occurred because

443 a woman's mother proceeded with the ceremony in the absence of the husband and his family. The latter were furious. They revealed the matter so that if anything should happen later to the mother or the child the law would be on their side. In that way the husband could evade responsibility and place the blame on his wife and her family so that they would have to pay an indemnity.

- [303] The pregnant woman does not remove the paint for three or
[76] four weeks after the ceremony. Nowadays the use of paint having disappeared except for certain occasions and among older persons, it is left on for only one night. In addition the surface smeared has been reduced to a line in the middle of the head or even one single spot.

[78] During this ceremony the Bombwanja have a public confession
[85] (etato) of the lovers. But since the Boides wait until after delivery, we will deal with it later on.

On the night following the ceremony described, the couple
[65] [478] "fasten the fetus" through their carnal union. Were they to omit this act, the child would die before birth.

For subsequent pregnancies the fastening of the fetus is no longer preceded by the same formalities.

[61] The couple continue to have relations during the entire
[64] period of pregnancy "in order to open an easy passage for the child."

On the other hand, they must strictly observe marital fidelity.

517 Nevertheless, a polygamist may have relations with his other wives.

In addition to this essential art, the interdiction also includes a secondary part: the couple may not even commit acts even very remotely related to procreation. Thus they may not:

1) Touch in any way whatsoever -- even to shaking their hands -- persons with whom they have had adulterous relations; such persons must therefore be avoided.

2) Sit next to such persons.

3) Look at them.

4) Enter a house or apartment where they are.

5) Eat "from the same pot."

6) Lie in another couple's bed.

7) Other persons may no longer sleep in the bed of the couple bound by the bekeke.

346 In order to facilitate the flowing out of all the blood, the
55 mother is given hot baths. However, they are not begun before
noon, for the Nkundu say that in the morning and evening it is too
cool and the blood is not sufficiently fluid. Those who have been
[177] in greater contact with the Whites give the mother beer or wine to
drink. The hot baths are administered behind the hut in an en-
closure set up for the occasion. They are of two kinds: baths by
sprinkling (kompile wā mǎcumba) and steam baths (kompile
wā ũlāngē). For the first method [485] very hot water is used, and
by using a bunch of palms, the woman's abdomen, loins, and ribs
are sprinkled. In the second method a pit is dug and large leaves
(or a basin) containing boiling water are placed in it. Three or
four strong, wide sticks are placed on top, and the woman is
seated on them. She is wrapped in several mats to which, today,
one or two blankets are added. She is left thus exposed to the ac-
tion of the steam for several minutes. According to the natives,
it is the ideal system because it makes all the blood come out, or
almost all. Some people first give a sprinkle bath, and then follow
it with a steam bath; others are satisfied with one or the other,
depending on the circumstances. In any case more than one bath
is never given in one day. This cure may be given for one or two
weeks, or it may stop after two or three days. The effect of
"civilizing" is more inclined to the latter. But no Nkundu would
want to omit the baths, for the woman's life is at stake.

After the bath the woman is carefully rubbed and dried,
• [321] and then anointed with oil mixed with red paint.

From time to time, usually every second day, she is given
a douche.

346 As long as the mother remains weak, a large fire is main-
tained in her hut to keep her warm, and the doors are closed by
means of palms. The husband and his relatives fetch the firewood.
But the first log must be cut and brought by the husband who, to
use the Nkundu expression, must "remove the violence" (imula
lofand). In the beginning the woman lies down on a bedaga right
near the fire. She turns the front of her body toward it. The fire
plays a great role in her quick recovery. She is very well cared

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447 umbilical cord was not buried; how dare you boast? You are but a stranger." Therefore this custom constitutes a sort of matriculation into the family. If anyone wants to be entirely certain of a Munda's clan, he has only to look for the place where his umbilical cord was buried.

5) The end of seclusion is marked by a few ceremonies.

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A. A meal. Early in the morning of the day set, the husband goes and cuts a bunch of fruit of the palm tree, and the helper goes and picks manioc leaves (nowadays leaves and fruit collected the day before are sometimes used). The helper crushes all of this to make a dish of food. While she cooks it over the fire, she shaves a little hair off the mother, plucks out one eyebrow, and cuts one of her nails. Then she does the same to the child. The helper moves away, and the father comes in. His wife subjects him to the same treatment, and he reciprocates, doing the same to the child. The rubbish is simply thrown away without any ceremony. This practice has no special name; the Munda say: Myadina telegaga, Myelagaga. "They shave each other's heads."

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When the vegetables are ready, all the women of the village are gathered together. A little pit is dug in front of the hut. A large leaf is placed in it to serve as a dish, and the vegetables are poured into it. The mother, the helper, and all those assembled eat. Except for a few small boys no representatives of the younger sex are present. When the meal is completed, [450] the leaf that served as a plate and those that served as spoons are buried in the pit. Today the more advanced of the population use a European plate and spoons. The meal and the vegetable eaten are called Imangaya, "reunion," because the entire village is united in partaking of them, or Isafayala, "dispersion," because it is the prelude to the end of the beliefs.

B. Then follows the ceremony of separation (-cina Isafell, or, among the Isifid, Isafelid). (1) The Isafell is the mid-rit

[78]

1. The expression and the ceremony designated by it are used whenever an important matter, such as a trial, etc., is to be terminated.

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[54] The event is announced by the usual signal, but the signal is doubted or, if the children are of different sexes, the signal for each sex is given once. It is followed by the dance beat: two [55] or three long and two short.

The next day the father's relatives go outside the village, 945 preferably to a crossroads. On each side they plant a stalk of 78 inkhahlid. All around the stalk they spread a little heap of small branches and various leaves called khid. It is a sign and a place of benediction and good fortune. Each passer-by stops, picks two leaves, places one on each pile, spits on it, and says rwā (2). Then

2. Ordinances for "spit."

they clap hands and twice sing out, yeli yeli. Such behavior brings the benediction of the twins upon a person's journey, his undertakings, his marriage. The umbilical cord as well as the placenta and membrane are buried under the heap.

945 Every morning the mother and father draw two stripes with 78 beads on the middle of their foreheads and on their arms, above 79 and below the elbow. They do the same to the twins. (3) They

2. Sometimes a double stripe is added at the temples. The beads may be used pure or mixed with the red paint called ngila.

continue doing so until the child is weaned. If after that time one of the children falls ill, they begin again treating him in this manner until he is cured, taking care not to omit his brother, lest he too fall ill. For while these designs are signs of joy, they are [75] above all a prophylactic measure against children's fever (inkhwāki). [80] called whāny when it occurs in twins or in a child following them, and manifests itself chiefly by rashes of the head and face.

945 Twins are invariably called khidye and khidye, names 351 given to the first born and the second respectively, whatever their sex. The Bushwangs (like the Hereros) use the names Mbā and khya, respectively. The mother takes the name of Amā.

THE NEUMU OF THE TUMBA

491

fear of death would deter him from such haunts. Another sign of the chosen successor is some untoward experience, such, for example, as finding cowrie shells (worn by *adams*) in a trap in the forest or a net that had been put out to catch fish. 624

Nkomo Akale, whether the first of his line or a man succeeding in the office, bears the emblems of his rank. He wears an *akale* (a branch of a special bush) stuck into his belt on the right side and hanging downwards. The special hat, *amash*, worn by *adams* is not yet his to wear, but he wears an ordinary skin hat known as *Apaga*, which is the mark of any elder. This hat may be ornamented with feathers if so desired. 243 212

When *Nkomo Akale* decides that he has acquired sufficient wealth to enable him properly to claim the right of being made an *adame*, he begins his preparatory arrangements. *Mishi*, a mixture of charcoal with some sticky substance, is smeared over his body with plantain leaves. All ornamented clothing is discarded and a single cloth woven from raffia, and known as *ashidi*, is worn. He refuses to sit on the benches usually used and instead sits on the bare earth. All this is explained as an attempt on the part of the man about to be raised to the office of *adame* to be different from others, a man apart, separate, peculiar, not partaking in the ordinary interests and affairs of his fellow men. 312 244 24

Nkomo Akale now leaves his own village accompanied by all his wives and children, and also by a singer, *ganga*, who is paid to sing his praises, and by several male *Burwa* (*gygians*), up to half a dozen in number, known as *amshi* because of their duty of blowing gongs and producing sounds which indicate praise of the great man. This party makes the round of villages wherever relatives are found, and the announcement is made that *Nkomo Akale* is about to become an *adame*. This pilgrimage accomplished, a "doctor" (*shanga*) is visited by the aspirant to office, who seeks by magic to discover whether it is the propitious time for the ceremony of installation. The whole company arrives at the private enclosure at the rear of the house belonging to the *shanga* chosen, this being the place where he performs his wonders. The *shanga* resorts to magic, that particular branch of magic which has to do with causes for strange and unaccountable phenomena. *Nkomo Akale* now seeks some sign as confirmation of his determination to claim his office at this time. Some native paper may be wrapped in a leaf or merely covered by it, and left within sight of all, and upon being opened it may be found to have turned into ash, or perhaps it may be some earth that is thus turned to ash. Or a cock may be placed upon *Nkomo Akale's* head and covered with a basket and thus left for some time. Upon removing the basket it may be discovered that an egg has been laid. All such tests, if successful, will be regarded as indications that it really is time for *Nkomo Akale* to assume the office of *adame*, but if the test fails he will usually go ahead with his plans anyhow, fearing the chance that would come to him should he go back to his home after having made the triumphant round of his relatives' homes. However, should he set these, and he must certainly will, he knows that his days are numbered, 624 71 77

* If a man's table do not produce and he cannot understand why, he will resort to magic. If it is supposed, for example, that the trouble is caused by someone eating "ashidi", an arrow shall be put into a small hole in the ground, and as each arrow is thrust, the arrow can be pulled out if the person is innocent, but remains stuck fast in the hole or the direction of the guilty case.

THE NIENU OF THE TUMBA

624 and that he may have no more than a month or perhaps a year in which to live and will surely die speedily.

The special objects attaching to the office of *shame*, among these the hat, *awende*, and sword, *whale*, are at the same time subject to similar magical acts to determine whether they may be produced for the new *shame*'s use. They are not present, being in the possession of the *awende* which will appoint him, but are mentioned by name. Apart from the *awende*, no further ceremony is required to identify these objects with their future owner.

703 The wings ended, the *Nienu Akale* crouches black still all over his body again, before the men begin to determine which of his wives is to be known as *Nienu*, the one who will be chosen to her husband throughout his days. For this, magic formulae (*Niamba*, sing. *awende*) are used. All the wives sit round in a circle and the *shame* places some incense such as ground pepper in the eyes of all the women. The wife whose eyes crouch most and whose discomfort is also accompanied by a violent shaking of the body is known to be *Nienu*. Here again, lying is believed to be one

707 of the question, for the shaking of the body is something that is supposed to be impossible of simulation, the real being easily distinguished by all from the false. *Nienu* is now stripped of all clothing and her body smeared by the *shame* with yellow clay on one side, and with white on the other. A belt of leaves is put round her waist and a small bit of cloth between the legs with each end attached to the belt. *Nienu* by

624 711 a ground with "medicine" in it has been standing ready for the next step in the ceremony, and this is now smeared with white clay, a parrot's feather stuck in the neck, and handed to *Nienu*, who receives it in one hand. Into the other hand is put a section of plumeless oak, into one end of which has been stuck a parrot's feather. A third feather is placed in her mouth so that she cannot speak, greet anyone, or eat. She is now tied with a cord which is held by one of the young men attending *Nienu Akale*. At this point of the procedure the *shame* crouches his eyes

717 721 for his work, which will be in the neighbourhood of one hundred hours each, worth ten-day about fifty hours, but formerly double that amount. The future *shame*, accompanied as before, leaves for the village of the *awende*. *Nienu* starts off at a tremendous pace, for she is now imbued with a sort of frenzied strength, and for this reason has been tied up and put in charge of a strong young man, otherwise she would be off so fast that no one could catch her, and would go into the forest, where she would live for days unseen.

624 In the village of the *awende* the party all sit in an *shame* belonging to one of the *shame*. This is the place where the *Tumba* can really live—their houses are just

724 727 sleeping and cooking establishments, but the *shame*, having a roof for shade and no walls, is the place where the men congregate and spend their leisure time. It is also

732 736 the site of the village smithy, which takes up one end. Here, then, *Nienu Akale* and his party sit for a day and a night, and neither he nor *Nienu* may eat food or drink wine during this period. Games are played by the *awende*—much *hantle*, *hantle*, and songs thickly of *hantle*, and before the first *awende* of dawn appears the group in the *shame* begins to march up and down the village singing.

737 741 At dawn the whole party, accompanied by a large crowd, make their way to a place in the bush where there is an elevation of some sort. Here *Nienu Akale* climbs up and when his crowd, accompanied by *Nienu*. Now the *awende* choose the *shame*

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THE MIND OF THE TUNGA

624 customary custom, with a double clap. They are told by the *ahone* to repeat the
576 salutation, and having done so may be asked to do it a third time. They are then
given a few *ruks* in payment. If the *ahone* sees some member of his own *ahpa*
coming to greet him, he gives him special honors by ordering him to lie flat on his
back instead of merely sitting, and at the end he gives him a larger gift of *ruks* than
the others receive. In this way the *ahone* may pay out a great many *ruks* to those
who thus render him homage. Ordinarily a man will receive five or six, but one
624 specially honored may be given as many as twenty. From the beginning the *ahone*
[54] has to pay heavily for his honors, and only a wealthy man can hope to attain them.
For this reason a lawful *ahone*, if not wealthy, may be glad to give up his rights
to another more fortunate member of the *ahpa*. Homage having been paid, word is
sent out that the *ahone* is about to come forth, and crowds begin to gather. A coat
of red carwood powder mixed with oil is smeared over the *ahone*, the lower limbs
are attached to his waist, and he is seated in all his glory. The crowd outside
[53] flowers, and when word has been given to await the start of the ceremony. Inside,
the *ahone* begins to play, the *gonds* to sing, and the *haros* start to praise the
ahone by uttering an alternating sound. Accompanied by *Nams*, *hops*, and the
amari, the *ahone* himself begins to dance. The temporary protecting screen round
the *ahone* is pulled down, and he is seen by all. After his dance he retires again and
the crowd disperses.

[4] When *Nams Ahne* becomes *ahone* he changes everything possible so as to
become different from other men. Thus he assumes a different gait, a coat of brown-
legged wattle, a different coat of robe, and it seems that under this influence even
his facial features undergo a change. Accompanied by his *amari*, he visits the
various villages where he has friends and relatives in order to greet them. This even,
the musicians with to take their departure and are paid for their services by
the *ahone*.

624 At the conclusion of these ceremonies the *ahone* with his *ahpa* and the *amari*
negotiate concerning their obligations to one another. If the *ahone* is the first of his
596 line, he and his *ahpa* are given land to cultivate, while succeeding *ahone* simply take
over the land originally apportioned. The *amari* call their *ahone* their wife, and they
designate themselves husband. They thus make the relationship between *amari*
and *ahpa* to be that of husband and wife, and, as in an actual marriage, there must
be an interchange of obligations performed in a spirit of harmony. Also, as in
marriage a wife may be divorced, so an *ahone* with his *ahpa* could be sent off to their
home and the arrangement terminated. It not infrequently happened that as members
of the *ahpa* fall out with their home and if such a disagreement could not be righted
they might be released the payments with which they had purchased their rights,
and sent off home.

224 Among the reciprocal obligations of *amari* and *ahpa* are included the sharing
of certain animals and birds killed in the hunt, among which are the leopard and
624 cheetah. All killed, whether male or female, must be divided. Of certain other
621 animals, including the wild pig, sambar, and barking, if a female, no portion is given,
if a male, the superior portion is preserved. These reciprocal obligations are limited
596 entirely to the *ahpa* and *amari*; if others outside of these groups wish to present the
ahone with more to increase him or to carry forward, they may do so, but they are under

THE NEUMU OF THE TUMBA

449

This funeral drumming is kept up for a long time, off and on for days, and is very stirring in its rhythm. While it is going on, the elders congregate in an *shaga*. They fast and have nothing to do with their wives during this time. The *shaga* is mourning, and the *mbaka* may be likewise mourning, but for the others it is a time of rejoicing, and also of the relaxing of moral restraints. It is an occasion for dancing by both *Burwa* and "Innema", the former regarding this as a time for special rejoicing. For the *shaga* was their master and now he is dead they are no longer under restraint. They are free to take any of their master's goods and even to snatch blankets off the corpse. Men and women do not dance together; the women, taking some of their husbands' weapons, go off in one direction, and the men, armed in *leury*, dance at the other end of the village.

While the *shaga* is still unburied and the drumming is going on, the *mbaka* look for a successor among the *shaga*. Often this man will, as we have seen, have already been designated. The *mbaka*, *Burwa*, and others in the village make up a party, and armed in war *leury* go off with their weapons as though after a man they wished to kill. As they go they sing:

Mbaka a'upile shaka

Fi shaka no shaka?

Heck, then has destroyed the man,

When are they going to sleep?

Before catching the real successor they catch one or another in fun, singing this song. The man of course refuses to be *shaka*, and the point of the song is that because of his refusal the *shaga* no longer fulfills its function of supplying the *mbaka* with *shaka* and therefore ceases to be of any use to them. If this man by refusing thus destroys the family unit, when will they sleep?

Finally, after this fun, the real successor is caught, his face daubed with black, and the group sing:

Shaka leury, shaka shaka

The missing animal is killing, avoid the trouble.

Then the new *shaka*, like a running animal, is hiding, but when discovered, like the *mbaka*, he will not try to run away. The whole group conducts the new *shaka* to the *shaga* and sit all night guarding him. Earlier on the day of the actual interment of the dead *shaga*, the new one is installed with ceremonies as already described.

On the day the *shaga* dies his people scatter to other villages to look for slaves for the ceremonies on the day of the burial. Slave-owners or husbands of unwanted wives ask quietly how much money there is for the man or woman, accept the agreed amount, and tell the buyers to go quietly and catch the slave or wife before anything is suspected and an escape is made. In this connection we may note two classes of wives, *leury* and *shaka*. A third class, *leury*, acquired by the payment of a very small bride price, was not nearly as common formerly as at present and may be passed by. A *leury* was a slave wife acquired by capture in war or raid. If loved by her husband she will take her place practically on an equality with the members of the village, but she may be killed, for she is her husband's possession, "his money" is the native expression. An *shaka* is a wife for whom a very high bride price has been paid, obliging her family to give wives to the other family in perpetuity, supplying

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